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Keep the Right to Strike!

Nearly half a million coal miners have downed tools as a last resort to force the coal barons to accede humane conditions of employment. The coal barons demanded that the miners continue at work pending the outcome of an industrial roundtable between the miners and their employers. The miners rightly refused to agree to throwing away their strongest weapon to enter unequally into a conference. The strike is on and the battle must be won for the men who mine the coal that makes civilization possible.

Woodrow Wilson and his reactionary government have chosen to throw its entire strength of courts and military on the side of those who have reaped millions in profits from the sweat and toil of the miners. As usual the class lines are drawn tightly, the capitalistic class character of the government is clearly depicted for all who may care to see. The government stands bone-headed upon a technicality that the war is not over and the miners are bound by a war time agreement to keep at work. The government conveniently asserts or discards this same technicality as the conditions of its political welfare dictate. In order to bind into slavery a half million American workers it blunderingly serves an injunction upon the miners' officials restraining them from calling the strike. Nevertheless, the strike is on, the men are out and the injunction is worthless, but it should serve to teach American workers the true character of the government.

The right to strike must remain inviolate. An attempt to abrogate this right is an assault upon the workers and the rights of free men, whether the assault is led by a reactionary government or any other power. The right to quit work in order to force better conditions of life and employment is a fundamental right that no man other than a congenital slave will for a moment be denied.

The demands of the miners which may appear radical to some on first glance are upon close analysis, but logical and reasonable considering the conditions surrounding the coal industry.

For nearly a year the miners have worked about half time. Their liberty bonds, purchased to help win a war for "democracy" have long ago been cashed in to purchase food and clothing for their families. A shorter work-day and week are absolutely necessary if miners are to have steady employment. An increase in wages only, can assure them of a decent American standard of living.

But the government cannot see this. Its powers have been thrown to the interests of the coal barons. Soldiers are guarding the mines, protecting such scabs as the government and coal operators may be able to recruit to break the strike.

Let every miner stand staunchly by the principles of free men. None other than slaves will be cowed by the misuse of governmental power in the hands of the ruling class.

GOOD NEWS COMRADES

COMRADES:

The national executive committee of the Communist Labor Party just held a meeting in New York City.

Many important decisions were made. In fact, the Communist Labor Party steps forth a definite power from now on, having, as a result of this meeting, acquired the needed party activities and machinery which enables the party to reach its membership as well as workers who are in need of communist education.

1. Plans were perfected for the touring of an army of organizers and lecturers. A circularization of locals and branches has resulted in a call for speakers and organizers such as will rush us to comply with.

2. The fighting organ of the Communist Labor Party has been established. It will be called "COMMUNIST LABOR". The first issue will appear within two weeks. Max Bedacht will edit this periodical.

3. "Class Struggle", at present the only magazine of a scientific nature published in this country, has been taken over by the Communist Labor Party. Ludwig Lore will continue to act as editor of this magazine, and Jack Carney and A. Raphaeloff will be associate editors.

4. "Voice of Labor" has also been made an official Communist Labor Party organ. John Reed is its editor. This paper will continue the shop committee paper, propagating the One Big Union idea among the workers and doing its part in organizing them for effective action.

5. The going business of the Socialist Publication Society has been absorbed by the party. This society has already on hand thousands of excellent pamphlets, and has an especially good stock of Russian books by Bucharin, said to be the best by Bucharin, said to be the best exposition of Communism so far written, of which three million copies have been sold in Russia and of which we hope to sell a million in the U. S.

6. The national office of the Communist Labor Party will move to New York City. From this citadel of capitalism we hope to rally the 30,000,000 wage slaves to the cause of communism; from here the activities of the party will be prosecuted with greater vigor and efficiency.

AND YOU? Your duty is now plain. Every member of the party must from this moment on become an agent for the party. Every member must be an organizer, a subscription getter, a literature agent — a propagandist every spare moment of every day. THIS WILL LEAD TO VICTORY!

Syndicalism Cases Continued

Unlettered Prosecutor gives new pronunciation to class-war words and phrases and reveals ignorance of language as well as of law.

The cases of Chas Baker, Walter Bronstrup, L. E. Katterfeld, A. Wagenknecht and E. T. Allison, charged with criminal syndicalism, were continued in Judge Moylan's court to Nov. 5th when the five defendants appeared with their attorney, Morris Wolfe, last Thurs. afternoon for preliminary hearing.

Articles from the Voice of Labor, official organ of the Communist Labor Party and an editorial from the Ohio Socialist of date of Nov. 15th, entitled "Seizing the Capitalist State", which were distributed at a meeting on Oct. 16th as well as paragraphs from the Communist Labor Party News were submitted and read as evidence in support of the charge of criminal syndicalism against the defendants by McCuen, Secretary of the Loyal American League, who was instrumental in making the arrests.

Copies of speeches made by Chas Baker, A. Wagenknecht and L. E. Katterfeld and Marguerite Prevey were in the hands of the prosecution but were not offered as evidence. Attorney Wolfe, for the defendants submitted and insisted that the speech of Marguerite Prevey be read. Marguerite Prevey was not arrested at the meeting, nor were other women comrades who participated and took an active part in it. Both prosecution and defense rested their cases at this point but Judge Moylan insisted that the prosecution point out the particular violation of the criminal syndicalism law which had occurred. This reopened the case and necessitated the reading of considerable portions of the articles by the prosecuting attorney. Attorney Wolfe asked that the defendants be discharged since no violation of law, no evidence of "advocacy of crime, violence or unlawful methods of terrorism" had been submitted. This put the prosecutor and his fellows of the Loyal American League to thinking and the prosecutor expressed the wish to submit the speeches of the defendants as further evidence. The hour being late a continuance of the case to Nov. 5th was granted.

Prosecuting attorney, Stanton, who is perhaps as shaggy and scabby an appearing individual as ever held down a job as police prosecutor revealed a pitiable lack of vocabulary and knowledge of modern English in his handling of the case, especially in his readings of extracts from the various publications. Such words as

(Continued on page 4.)

Terrible Treatment of American Soldiers in Waging War Against Soviet Russia

SAN FRANCISCO:

Bringing 1,273 United States troops back from what they describe as a land of horrors and no place for an American, the army transport "Logan" docked today with one of the largest detachments of Siberian expeditionary forces thus far returned to the United States.

Today's arrivals are from the Twenty-seventh and Thirty-first Infantry, having served more than 15 months in Siberia. In the ship's hospitals thirty-eight men being transferred to the Presidio; in the ship's brig three prisoners serving court-martial sentences and to be transferred to the camp at Fort Leavenworth; the bodies of 16 Americans killed in fight with Bolshevik forces.

Tales of hardships, mistreatment and abuse are many among the men. The Japanese are blamed by the soldiers for the conditions in Siberia, which they describe as a pest hole, filth, disease and terror. Interior Siberia, especially at Harbin and further inland, is in the clutches of an epidemic of cholera and typhus which is causing in many deaths, claim today's arrivals.

Bitter Against Officers

Members of several companies of the Twenty-seventh Infantry are bitter against the treatment given them by the commanding officers whom they charge with using the mailed fist of military authority to maintain discipline and check the spread of discontent among the men because of their dissatisfaction at being kept in places for reasons they know nothing of and being subjected to treatment worse, they claim, than would be given a dog.

The majority of the complaints are lodged against Colonel H. T. Morrow, commanding officer of the Twenty-seventh Regiment, nicknamed by his men "Bull of the Woods."

Cruelties of all descriptions, intoxication and many charges are lodged against officers by men of the Twenty-seventh. The chief complaint against Colonel Morrow is the creation of the prison stockade and herding in full of American prisoners, placed there, the men say, for the most trivial violations of military regulations.

Edward G. Bell of Company B, Twenty-seventh Infantry; J. Shapiro, Company L, and many others tell of conditions in the prison stockade, created, they say, by Colonel Morrow, Bell said:

This stockade was built of logs and designed to hold about 150 men. There were about 140 men in it all of the time. We were made to double time to and from work or any place we were driven. Life inside this stockade was a horror. Every two hours during the night, officers, commanded by Colonel Morrow, would come in, wake us up, take our bedding away from

us, force us to line up and answer roll call and then we would be double-timed for a few minutes. Then we would get a snatch of sleep and double-timed again. We were sent to the stockade on charges which would most places escape with a rebuke.

Charge Tyranny Reign

J. Shapiro of Company L, and charged by many of his company, charges the officers with conducting a reign of tyranny. Grafting of money to be used for the soldiers, abuses and brutalities are charged against the officers. Shapiro charges that German officers held as prisoners were given better treatment than the American and Russian prisoners, and that the German officers are wearing American uniforms. Supported by Dan Alexander of a headquarters company in the Twenty-seventh, Shapiro says that Arthur Herrarra of Company L, a resident of San Francisco, was given a sentence of 14 days on bread and water for making a remark about a German major wearing the American uniform while a prisoner, Shapiro said:

Herrarra resented the fact that a major in the German army was wearing an American uniform. Herrarra said, "Doesn't he look cute, the —" Captain Larkin, commanding Company E, of the Twenty-seventh, heard the remark and Herrarra received a court martial and 14 days solitary.

Herman N. Jensen, Company B, Twenty-seventh Infantry, expressed the sentiments of more than 500 soldiers of the Siberian forces when he said:

Americans have no business in Siberia. From all we can learn Hiram W. Johnson is one of the best friends we have and the men in Siberia and on the Logan are for him 100 per cent.

We have been inland about 1,800 miles at Verkhue Udinsk and if anybody can solve the riddle there they will have a Philadelphia lawyer beaten.

Japanese Show Hand

The situation there is this: The Japs are stealing the country and helping them do it are three so-called Russian Kolchak generals—Kilmokiff, Semionoff and Gamoff. All are supposed to be divisional chiefs under Kolchak, but in reality they are bandits far

from the Villa. The Mexican situation is as peaceful as a village along side of Russia. Kolchak is friendly to the Americans, but his bandit chief, tains, who are supposed to co-operate with the Americans, are being financed by the Japs to create a reign of terror. They are open in their declarations against the Americans. Their actions, together with the conditions of poverty, filth and disease made Siberia an awful place. There are more than 1,000 men on board who are tickled to death to get back — but believe me, buddy, it's tough sledding for those who are in Siberia now, although they are beginning to get the men out.

Bombs and "Bull"

The capitalist press of the country has for a week past been reeking with tales of discoveries of alleged bomb plotters, their arrests, seizure of large quantities of materials for the making of bombs, radical literature and communications from men prominent in the American Communist Movement.

The assertion is made that the men and woman arrested at Cleveland have connections in various parts of the country and that the fact is being established that the bomb said to have been sent thru the mails in the early part of summer, and the bombing of the home of Mayor Davis is the work of these men.

We charge that these latest alleged bomb discoveries are the rankest kind of fake, perpetrated by one of the greatest political potrooms who ever sat in a Mayor's chair — Harry Davis of Cleveland. While Davis' police were riding over the workers of Cleveland on May 1st, brutally clubbing men, women and children in an effort to exterminate every vestige of rising revolt among the workers, Harry Davis was in attendance at a ball game. While the agencies of destruction which he had released at the word of the Chamber of Commerce were at work, he sat on a bench in the ball park safe in his skin far from the scene he had not the physical courage to enter. In his campaign for re-election the radical element of the city are bombarding him with questions about his murderous assault upon the workers and the reign of terror he imposed upon the city. He felt the ground slipping from under his feet. He needed and needed badly a substantial strengthening of his standing in the community he had assaulted and outraged.

Hence a "bomb plant" is discovered — right on the eve of election. The capitalist press, ever eager to spread red ink in lies against the workers, that they may be kept forever in subjection, enters upon another campaign of maliciousness. The gullible swallow the bait, hook, line and sinker. The administration is made to appear vigilantly at work in the interests of "law and order." The mayor receives a slight boost at the polls — perhaps enough to get him over the top and into the snug seat of the mayor — ready for another assault upon the workers whose votes put him there.

A capitalists politician will sink to any depths for public office. Gulling the workers is a part of the game. The workers are slowly learning this and it is one of the things which are driving capitalism and its political representatives to distraction — and desperate lengths to keep them harnessed to capitalism's chariot.

Unite for Liberation, is Debs' Message

From the Prison Hospital Debs Sees Labor Growing Stronger for Final Conflict With Its Exploiters

Cincinnati O. Oct. 23. 1919.

DEAR COMRADE WAGENKNECHT:—

I visited Gene yesterday accompanied by attorney Castleton and found him slightly improved, he is still in the hospital and will in all probability remain there because of his health. He is no longer obliged to work in the clothing shop as the Warden recognized he must get better air and rest. Every one about the prison appreciates and loves "our Gene," many prisoners would gladly serve his time for him if they could. The prisoners in the tuberculosis section raise flowers and frequently send him bouquets.

He is cheerful and optimistic, the split in the Party is to him an evidence of growth. He said, "Parties will split, but the movement for working-class emancipation never splits, the rank and file in all the Parties are honest and will get together in their own good time. Tell them to carry on the work for liberation of all political prisoners. All of us will be released when the working-class present a united front. We must see to it that the financial interests are not permitted to overthrow by force the liberties so dearly bought and paid for by the blood of the workers.

They must understand that this government was founded on the theory of the right of its citizens to advocate change if the existing system does not provide safety and security for the people. The Declaration of Independence states this principle clearly, any group of people that interferes with this fundamental right is in conflict with the spirit and purpose of the revolutionists who were ready to die rather than live under the autocracy of King George.

It is the mission of the workers to rid the world of the industrial autocrats who are more oppressive than the political autocrats ever dared to be. The workers have been robbed and starved in their interests, they are the 20/o who control 70/o of the wealth. The men and women who feed, clothe and house the world, must control the world. They must systematize and organize industry in their own interest instead of for the 20/o, thereby abolishing the conflict between nations and classes.

From behind prison bars I can hear the rumblings. I can feel the heart throbs of the working-class in their efforts to free themselves from their fetters. I understand and I reach out to the men in the steel mills and the miners, the railroad shops, to the workers every-where. I am with you in spirit, be true to yourselves and your class, the day is not far distant when Labor will come into its own."

With this message, Gene Debs sends greetings to his comrades urging unity of all revolutionary organizations.

Fraternally
Marguerite Prevey.

More Persecution.

Local exponents of Wilsonian "Democracy" working over time in suppression of Working-class.

Slueths and gum-shoe men of the local Chamber of Commerce are using every method of "crime, violence and terrorism," in violation of the Constitution of the United States in their repression of the rights of Cleveland workers.

Having partially succeeded in preventing hall meetings after ruling socialists off the streets, they now have entered upon a course of open violation of all the laws of sanctuary guaranteed by the fundamental law of the land. No worker's home is now safe from entrance at any hour by these hounds and lick-spittles of the ruling class.

Ten comrades of the Communist Party of Cleveland were held up at the point of revolvers in the private home of a comrade, where an organization meeting was being held on the night of Oct. 30th. Those taken in this latest unlawful outrage were Carl Haeker organizer, Harry Wagenknecht, Rudolph Altenbernd and others.

Guarded by the valiant apostles of democracy as we have it to-day, the comrades were herded into a patrol wagon with books, pamphlets, membership cards etc. They were charged with violation of the criminal syndicalism law at the police station where they remained overnight.

At the hearing in Judge Moylan's court the following day they were bound over to the grand jury on \$500 bond which was immediately raised to \$1,500 when bondsmen appeared with bonds for their release. At this time sufficient bonds have been produced for the release of all.

Hamilton Socialist Mobbed and Beaten by Six Masked Men

Steiger Chloroformed and Taken to Woods, Left Unconscious.

John F. Steiger, chairman of the Hamilton, Ohio, Socialist campaign committee, on his way home from a meeting Friday, evening Oct. 17, was seized by six masked men, beaten, chloroformed, taken in an automobile to the woods, stripped, whipped, tarred and left unconscious.

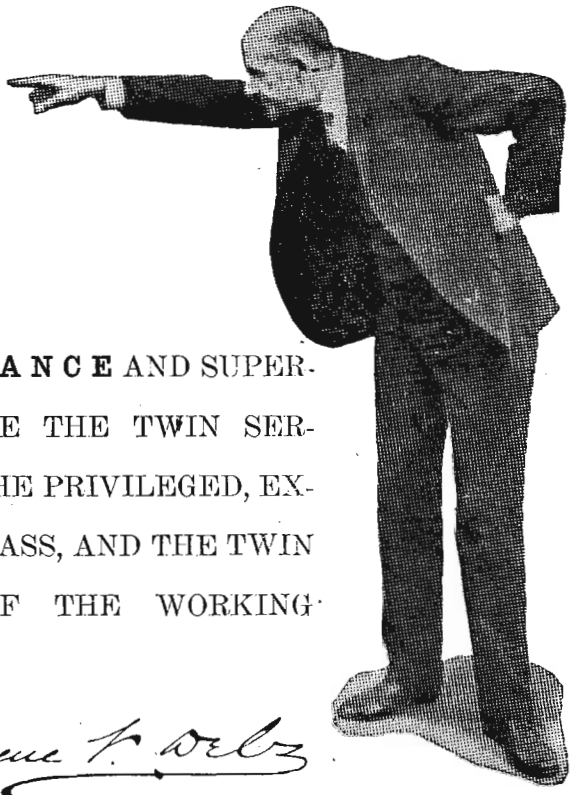
He recovered at 3 o'clock in the morning and got to the police headquarters. The Hamilton newspapers at first suppressed the story, but later let some news of it out.

The same gang took from the Cincinnati and Dayton motor express of five 6,000 Socialist campaign leaflets. The clew to the assailants was obtained through the sale of masks.

Walter Harlan, judge of the Court of Common Pleas, has ordered a grand jury investigation.

Steiger had received a threatening letter, unsigned. This letter ordered him to leave the city within ten days. The general belief is that the plot was organized in the Chamber of Commerce and employers' association circles. This theory is based on the fact that these circles have been alarmed at the prospects of a Socialist victory at the polls.

Debs says to You



"IGNORANCE AND SUPERSTITION ARE THE TWIN SERVANTS OF THE PRIVILEGED, EXPLOITING CLASS, AND THE TWIN ENEMIES OF THE WORKING CLASS."

Eugene P. Debs

CLEVELAND'S "BEER" COMMUNISTS

(Contributed)
Not that we care to write an article about Cleveland's "Beer" Communists, members in good standing of the Communist Party. We would much rather overlook points of difference and emphasize points of unity.
But of late the Communist Labor Party has been belabored with such senseless and bitter criticisms from Communist Party ranks, that it becomes our duty to prove to the Communist Party membership that their party does not stand the hundred per cent test, and that the errors made on the side of adherents of the Communist Party are as mountains beside the so-called mistakes of the Communist Labor Party.
And now to the story of Cleveland's "Beer" Communists. It was our good friend Jos. Jodibauer who lambasted the Communist Labor Party for its "impureness" at the several meetings of the German branch in Cleveland, and the Cleveland German branch eventually joined the Communist Party because it thought the Communist Labor Party not one hundred per cent Communist.
New steps forward the official organ of the German branch of Cleveland which is also the official organ of the German branches in Ohio, and does what? Does nothing more nor less than advocate "beer" communism. This official organ, called the "Echo", in its main headline on page one, issue of October 25th, calls upon all

good comrades to hurry to the ballot box on November 4th — to vote for the revolution! — to elect communist to office! NO. It asks all good comrades to hurry to the election on November 4th to VOTE FOR BEER.
Here is the call of these "beer" communists.
"TO THE BALLOT BOX ON NOVEMBER 4TH!"
"The known occurrences in the party organization give the election upon November 4th only a secondary place. However, we must not stay away from the ballot box, but must, with our ballots protest against everything that has to do with prohibition, because as honest people we must not allow hypocrites to rob us of our liberty."
"GREAT — ISN'T IT! Communist Party adherents calling upon the membership to battle for personal liberty — even intimating that it might be all right to vote for any old kind of candidates so long as they are "met" candidates. And it is the Communist Party which thinks itself TOO PURE to unite with the Communist Labor Party!
This together with Local Cleveland's call for a state convention in conjunction with reactionary Socialist Party locals in Ohio, are the two outstanding features of Communist Party membership. And undoubtedly, the Communist Party will continue to attempt to dislodge the mote in the Communist Labor Party eye, overlooking the beam in its own.

Who Killed Cock Robin?

"I was never a Prohibitionist," said a man to me the other day. "But I saw it work in Seattle, and that convinced me." In other words the apologues for the saloon died when the saloon died. Just as the apologues for slavery died when slavery died. And as the apologues for war will die when war dies. And as the apologues for land monopoly, and profit-taking will die when land monopoly and profit-taking go the way of the saloon and slavery.

You have to kill an institution before you can get rid of its excuses. And because institutions are fundamentally economic it is the economic factor which kills them. Slavery went not because Garrison and Phillips talked against it. It went because it could not stand in the economic battle against wage labor. The saloon went, not because the W. C. T. U. held prayer meetings in saloons, and Gough and Father Matthews spilled their eloquence against it. Grant the good of all this. But the saloon went because it could not stand the economic pressure of sober communities and a sober industrialism. The war put it out of business quicker only because the war speeded up economic efficiency, and the saloon was not efficient.

And capitalism is going, not because the preachers and the educators and the editors are against it. They are not, and they will not be generally until it has gone. Why expect capitalism to raise flowers that will kill it rather than reproduce it?

No, capitalism is going because labor is coming. Industrial democracy is economically more fit than industrial autocracy, and that is why it is going to put industrial autocracy on the scrap heap. It is the biggest revolution in history, as much bigger than the fight against the saloon as industrialism is bigger in men's lives than their convivial habits, as much bigger than the struggle with African slavery as wage labor is more universal than was chattel slavery in the Nineteenth Century America of our fathers. It is the biggest revolution in human history, and will do more for the religion, education, and culture of tomorrow than anyman dare dream today.

But remember, the preachers of capitalism are not putting capitalism out of business any more than the preachers of Virginia and South Carolina and Georgia put slavery out of business. No, it is the workingmen who are going to put capitalism out of the world. They are at it now. Their weapon is the strike. Not the ballot, except in a secondary way, for the ballot has been captured by the capitalist politician and the capitalist editor and the capitalist preacher. The one weapon the workingman has in his own hands is his job. It is the only weapon by which he can slay the Goliath of Capitalism.

And I for one am glad that he is giving it to Capitalism just where Goliath got it, in the head.

I am more interested in that fight right now than I am in all the smilings and smirking and head-bobbing of all the stirrup-holders in the world.
Go to it, labor. More strength to your arm.

The Las Gatos Idea.

Subscription Blank

Fill out this blank with the name of a worker, enclose it with a dollar or a half dollar in an envelope and mail to the address below. Can you do more RIGHT NOW for the working class than this? If so, send two subscriptions. Do it now.
The Ohio Socialist

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The Outlook in Russia

By A. Milan

Two years have passed since the Russian workers began holding the destiny of their class in their own hands. The murderous warfare against the Proletarian Revolution in Russia by the combined forces of the world's capitalist imperialism have been unable to crush the Russian Socialist Soviet Republic. The eyes of the world are turned towards the eastern horizon, where we can read the glaring question: "To be, or not to be?" But this is not even a question — it is a determined decision of an uncompromising class struggle. Dictatorship of the proletariat or Bourgeois — which shall be supreme?

In Russia at the present time, regardless of deprivations, heading not the capitalist lies that are being spread, in the face of all opposition, the process of transformation to Communism is taking place; but that does not mean that the Russian workers alone will be able to reach this stage of society. They are only the pioneers who are preparing the way for a working class world. A Proletarian Revolution cannot be of local character. It comes as a rising tide inundating the entire capitalist society. In such position we find the Proletarian Revolution in Russia. Against it we find all capitalist governments, who still are holding clinched tight in their iron gloves the workers of their countries — the only allies and support in the Proletarian struggle. The Proletarian Revolution in Russia has only the hope of permanent success if it can count upon the support of the American and European working class. Therefore the necessary conditions for Proletarian action the world over are plainly to be seen. The war has brought sharp divisions between toilers and exploiters, has split all relations, and prepared inevitable the last and final struggle between labor and capital. The war has destroyed the fruits of centuries of civilization, has confronted the masses with starvation. The example of the Russian Revolution has opened immense possibilities and wide perspective for the Communist movement.

In pain and suffering is born the future; a new class is entering upon the stage of society creating its own will, in a world-wide struggle with its class enemies. One thing is clear — that without active support of the workers in other countries the working class of Russia and the poor peasantry with them will be crushed under the iron heel of the allied capitalist imperialism, and the bourgeois class in Russia will triumph once more with their "democracy" over hundreds of millions of workers. More than that, the darkest night of reaction would be inaugurated the world over.
The power of Soviets, the socialization of land, the nationalization of

banks and industry is threatening the capitalist world with the vision of the Proletarian Revolution. The imperialist of the world is asking "to be, or not to be?" It is bending all its forces to choke the Proletarian Revolution in Russia. In this fight the capitalists are united, setting aside their quarrels over markets and colonies. England, Germany, France, the United States, Turkey — all are fighting Communist Russia. The historic work in the Proletarian Revolution by the Russian workers is fulfilled nobly. The further development of the Proletarian Revolution depends on the rest of the workers the world over. What is our duty? It is to give our active support, as workers of America, to help bring about the overthrow of the capitalist system, and not to allow it to crush our class revolution in Russia. We must show our class solidarity to our brothers in Russia. They have shown us the way towards working class emancipation, and are nobly carrying on their fight. The workers of England, France, Italy are doing their share; demanding withdrawal of troops from Russia. What about us? President Wilson is waging a private war upon Russia, sending troops to Siberia. The recruiting of volunteers for Siberia is done openly by the War Department. The "free" American boys are flogged in Siberia by Wilson's friends. The Washington Government is seeking apologies from czaristic generals in Siberia, as if apologies would heal the flogged wounds of American soldier boys. Have not those two years of the heroic struggle of the workers in Russia convinced you to oppose the doings of your imperialists at home? The possibilities of Soviet Russia under the workers' control is dependent not only on the sacrifices and heroic fight of the Russian workers, but also upon the demand of the workers in other countries that their governments cease their murderous actions against Soviet Russia. Our slogan shall be: "No troops, no volunteers, no munitions to fight against the Proletarian Revolution! Hands off Russia!"

Those slogans must be supported by action, like the English workers, the French marines, the Italian transport workers, and the Seattle Longshoremen put forth. They did not go to parliament or congress with petitions, begging the perpetrators not to do such things; they refused to load munitions to be shipped to kill Russian workers; others refused to go to Russia to war against their brothers.
This will be the active support given by us if we act as a class and not as individuals.
This action will give life to the workers' control of Russia, and it will teach that All Power to the Workers is the way to working-class emancipation.

A Song of Democracy

By Robert Whitaker

Lives there a workingman so dense
Who has not yet the common sense
To see that flags and forms of state,
Of which the masters proudly prate,
Are but the stock in trade of those
Who fatten on the people's woes,
And with such symbols still divide
The folks whose backs they want to ride?

Where is the poor man's country? Where
The land that gives plain toil its share?
Where is the government that yields
To those who till the soil, their fields?
To those who build and weave, their tools?
Where are the workers not the stools
Of those, wherever they are met
Who live by other people's sweat?

When will the workers of all lands
Throw off their immemorial bands
The lying loyalties they cheer?
Their slave idolatries of fear?
And stand beneath one common sky,
As one to live, as one to die;
To own no flag, no state, no mood
Except the workers' brotherhood?

Endosres I. W. W.

Mexico City, Oct. 13. — Industrial unionism a la I. W. W. was emphatically endorsed by Local Mexico City of the newly organized Communist Party of Mexico, at its meeting Friday night, Oct. 10. Members were instructed to join the Mexican I. W. W. that is being organized or if already members of craft unions, to try to get those unions to affiliate with the I. W. W.

The following permanent officers for the year, were elected by the local: General Secretary, Luis Macotela; Local Secretary, Roberto Sandoval; Treasurer, Angel Bernal. The local was provisionally organized the first week in September. Intervention was denounced in strong terms and plans made for opposing it. Speeches were made by the following officers of the national party: International Secretary

Saws Reset.

"There's one thing that's certain"
Says old Mr. Peck;
"A bolt on the stove is
Worth two on the neck."
Luke McLuke.
And here is what Uncle
Jehosaphat said;
"One rots to the living,
Beats ten to the dead."
Free Press.
"Take your religion away"
Said wise Uncle Si.
"One pie here and now,
Beats three in the sky."

Geo. Barreda; National Secretary Enrique H. Arce; and Linn A. E. Gale, publisher of Gale's Magazine and a member of the National Executive Committee. Meetings will be held every Saturday night hereafter.

THE BULLETIN BOARD

When the workers support their own press half as generously as they do the papers of their exploiters, there will be a proletarian daily in every county of these United States.

What did you do to-day to build up our press? Get a subscription for this paper. Join the Communist Propaganda League.

NOW before you dig up

another two cents for your masters' lies-about YOU.

THE BLACK SHEEP

By Long and Lanky.

Chapt. IV.

The Class Struggle.

"Well," said Herman, on the following evening while on their way to the village, "did you get all your economics stored away that George gave you last evening?"
"Yes, I think I have, but not at all perfectly. There are certain phases on which I need considerably more light before I will be able to classify and use them for myself. One of the points that persists in slipping from me is that of the class struggle. I can see that it exists, but I cannot figure out how it originated, or why it exists," said Jack meditatively. "I wish you would illustrate and explain it a little further."
"You have bitten off a mouthful," answered Herman. "I'm afraid it will keep you chewing for months. To comprehend its origin you will have to study its historical development from the middle period of barbarism to the present day. It's a big subject, passing thru various phases, changing and modifying in harmony with the changes and modifications in the prevailing mode of production. It will be up to you to read books and study for yourself, the growth and development of the proletariat thru the ages."
"What do you mean by proletariat?" asked the boy.

"The proletariat is that part of the people of a nation who have nothing to sell in the markets of the world except their human energy; their labor power. They are the class whom Marx said, 'You have nothing to lose but your chains and a world to gain.' You and I are proletarians. We make our living by selling our work for wages, with which we buy the necessities of life, that we may evaluate more strength to ourselves."
"We do not own any machinery. The machinery is in the hands of the employing class. We must use the machine in order to work. We must work in order to live. The capitalists have us tied by our guts to the machine," Herman explained.

"That's clear enough," remarked the boy. "Now give me your definition of a capitalist."
"A capitalist," Herman explained, "is the possessor of land and tools that the working class needs in order to produce the necessities of life. The capitalist class is that element in human society that has made itself master of the resources and instruments of wealth production, and who will permit the proletariat to use them only under the consideration of profit. If a capitalist cannot make money off of your labor power he will not employ you. You must be employed in order to live. Thus it is that capital thru its control of life's necessities practically have the power of life and death over you. They make you pay a price for the privilege of existence."

Jack looked blank. George noticed it and tried his hand to clarify matters. Said he to Herman, "Why don't you hit the kid on the head with the first volume of Capital?" Then he went on, "Now listen Jack, take it this way: what you want to know, is, what constitutes the class struggle today. It is the struggle between the worker and the owner of land and tools, for the possession of the products of labor. The two phases of the struggle maybe expressed in the words, wages and profits. The worker sells his labor power for wages. It is his commodity, that means the thing he has to sell.
"Naturally he wants as much as he can get for it, and the tendency is to give as little as he can 'get by' with. That is the essence of all business, as little as possible for as much as possible. It is the natural attitude of man. The buyer of labor power wants to pay as little for human energy as the worker will accept and drive the worker to his utmost capacity of production. That is the class struggle. Capital can only grow on the difference between what it pays for labor and what labor creates in wealth. A capitalist is a human being who grows fat on the product of unpaid labor."

"Why don't the workers kill the capitalists then," Jack remarked innocently. At which both men laughed heartily.
"There is a good reason," George explained. "The bulk of the workers are like yourself, they do not understand the relation that exists between workers and owners. Then there is a large element such as the farmers for instance who function in the two classes, being both producers and exploiters. It is not the business of the class conscious worker to kill the exploiters. It is rather his task to educate his fellow men to a cognizance of their position in society."
"The difference is quite clear," answered the boy. "But what will it lead to?"

"Figure it out," suggested Herman. "You create by your work an average ten dollars worth of wealth per day. You get two dollars in wages from which you live. Your boss employs a hundred men, from each of whom he gets eight dollars in profits; hence your income is two dollars and his income is eight hundred per day. Now compare your incomes. Who will buy the most land, you or the boss? Your boss gets more money that he can use or waste hence he must invest in something and that something is already owned. He buys it and puts men to work on it; but every time he increases the number of his employees he also increases the volume of his profits, which it becomes necessary to invest, while you the worker have nothing to invest. Can't you see how a few men have everything and the mass of men nothing, but their strength. That when that condition obtains in the world the mass of the people will be dependent for the privilege of work upon a few owners of the world's wealth. Can't you see how this system of wage labor is enslaving the human race? For where one class is tied by their heart strings to the machine the other class cannot be free."

"Yes, I can see how this will lead to the death of freedom, to a condition of slavery. But what can be done about it? You show me where we are going but I don't want to be in my way."
"Nor does any class conscious worker want to go into that slavery to which the development of capitalism inevitably leads. That is the reason we organize the militant proletariat into political parties and into industrial unions, that have for their objects the education of the working class to a recognition of where they're going for the purpose of abolishing the wages system and instituting in its place the collective ownership and democratic control of the means of production and distribution. To the end that all men shall become workers in, and owners of, the industries with which they are affiliated."
"Now you souse him on the beam with a volume of capital," Herman retorted. At which George laughed.

"I begin to see the whole thing. A worker who is on to his job approaches every thing from an entirely different viewpoint. He has more to do than merely make a living, because, the system under which he is making a living carries within itself the germ of its own destruction. It is therefore necessary not only to make a living by working for wages but to see to it that the opportunity to make a living by working for wages does not slip from our hands."
"Yes," said George, "and that consciousness modifies and changes all your philosophical concepts. It affects your conception of truth, justice, God, Devil, Heaven and Hell, everything. The way that you make your living colors your view-point. The preacher in the South was pro-slavery and his favorite text on Sunday morning was, 'Abraham bought his servants with his gold'. The parson preached as he was paid. The chink of the dollar was the voice of God. While in the North the preachers belonging to the same church took for their text 'Stand ye then in the freedom with which Christ has made you free. The churches split along the line of the material interest of those who pay the new rent. To was a source of bread. In the North it was considered a virtue for a slave to escape. In the South it was a crime. It is the wedge that splits the classes in society apart."
At this point they entered the village. It being Saturday night they decided to stay in town so as to get a bath and a decent night's rest and on the morrow they would go out to the lakes in pursuit of ducks and geese.

George and Herman had led Jack into the world of economics. Now Jack led them into the world of nature. Natural things were the things he loved. As George and Herman had taught him economics so he pointed out to them the wonders of Biology and to his surprise discovered that the same laws producing social phenomena in a modified form also produced the phenomena of life. For instance, when he was asked to state the reason why the females of pheasants and ducks as well as other birds had sober plumage while the male of the species abounded in brilliant colors, he pointed out to his companions that during the hatching season it was of advantage to the mother bird to blend with her environment. If she did not she would be a conspicuous target for all forms of beasts of prey. It is the life necessity of the race that gives to the female her sober plumage. The same is true of the young chick, both male and female, it is colored so as to blend with its surroundings. The mother hen must care for herself and her young, while the chief concern of the male is to attract a mate. He has only himself to care for. Thus he can afford to have the more brilliant plumage.

"Do you mean to tell us that birds select their plumage thru an effort of will?" Herman asked.
"No," Jack answered. "will has nothing to do with it. The bright colored mother does not raise her young and the dark colored male does not get a mate. These are the material factors involved."
George called the boys attention to the fact that he had used the word material factors in his discussion of the markings of birds and pointed out that what the boy had observed in the phenomena of wild life also was true in the phenomena of society. "The reason that there are not more class conscious workers in the working class is similar to that which causes so few bright colored females in the bird world. The man who has resented the encroachment of capital in an active way, has generally been driven from place to place and been killed. In ancient times Spartacus asked his fellow slaves if they were heastes to stand like dumb oxen awaiting the butcher's knife, and told them if they were men that they should strike down their guard and gain the mountain passes, there to do bloody work as did their sires at old Thermopylae. But Spartacus was killed and his followers crucified along the Appian Way. Spartacus was an off colored bird in Roman slave society.
Grachus plead with the Roman senate that the land be restored to the people and they hurled him off the Sorption rock. He was an off colored bird in Roman slave society. Christ saod, 'Call ye no man master,' and he was crucified for the same reason. So we can come down the list, Savan-rola in Florence, Emmett in Ireland, John Brown in the United States all died, because they didn't blend with the industrial, political or religious world in which they lived. It is natural law in the social world that the unadaptable perish. Even in our own day the radicals are jailed and driven from place to place so that they cannot perpetuate themselves.

"Now I'll tell you" said the engineer, "that if you will study as diligently the problems of organized labor as you have studied the problems of nature, then you will be able to tell me that you'll never be rich."

(Continued next week.)

The Ohio Socialist

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IN ECLIPSE

For a year the world has been treated to the eclipse of one of earth's most brilliant luminaries. And the effect upon the luminary appears to have as little effect as an eclipse has upon earth's sun. A year ago, had any one openly stated that Woodrow Wilson would have passed into the shadows of public disapproval to the extent he has reached at this moment, he would have been accused of disloyalty, branded as a traitor and probably delivered over to be hounded and persecuted by agents of commerce clubs and mobs of patriotic blackguards.

Just before the President wrote the fatal open letter to American voters asking for the return of a Democratic Congress, no finger of accusation had been lifted against him. He shone with all the splendor of omniscience, his rays lighted all the world and warmed the remotest corners stricken as it was, with grief and sorrow.

As an evidence of the unstapleness of fame and glory he presents an unsurpassed example. Never has a man stood so high in his countrymen's and the world's opinion and fallen with the velocity of a plummet to the depths as has he. But tho the President's eclipse began at home just previous to the last Congressional election, it was not until the return from his first trip to Europe that any evidence of the world's changed valuation was in evidence.

President Wilson went to Europe a conqueror with the world at his feet in worship. He came back beaten, despised by Europe and denounced at home. His partial tour of the country in the interests of the discredited League of Nations, did not add to his standing with his own people. Rather did it act as an irritant, and is merely playing the cheapest kind of political tricks.

President Wilson stands alone, deserted by his political party in Congress, by the people of this country and of the world. He is parting into a period ignored of friend r foe.

CAN THEY CURE IT?

From preacher to President the daily offerings of cures for discount grow in volume. Settlement workers, priests, doctors, lawyers, senators, policemen, suffragettes, Samuel Gompers, in fact the whole riff-raff of capitalism's hangers-on eagerly extend their nostrums for society's salvation.

The variety too, is great. Mostly, they contradict each other and this does not lead to greater faith in their curative powers. But there is one which is coming to the front more and more as THE remedy. More and more of our statesmen and world saviors are accepting it as such. It is the resort to the armed power of the state; more stringent laws against the expression of discontent, then the police, soldiers, riot guns, armored cars. This is the "cure" for bolshevism and revolution. This is the last resort of the capitalist state, in fact. It is well that the workers recognize it as such. Also remember, the capitalist state, as Karl Marx said, is but a committee to manage the affairs of the capitalists class.

The latest nostrum to appear comes from Senator McKellar, of Tenn., who has offered a bill aiming to stamp out radicalism root and branch. The provisions of this bill are enlightening as well as amusing. It provides that any person even advocating by peace-

able means the overthrow of ANY government, or associating privately or publicly with such advocates shall be subject to a fine of not less than \$6,000 or from one to ten years in prison.

It must be admitted this is "going some". America, the land of democracy will soon reach the stage of Bismark's iron laws if this bill becomes law. We could almost hope it will become law. The espionage law is not half stringent enough. While the worker's press has been almost obliterated, and free speech denied in almost every city in the country, workers can still converse with their wives about the mounting grocery bills and the soleless condition of Jonney's shoes.

This bill however, would put a stop to all that violent talk. It would teach us to keep our mouths shut about our master's business.

Fasc the bill gentlemen, by all means. Gives us more repression. The criminal syndicalism bill has but added its tens of thousands to the army of discontented. This bill would add hundreds of thousands. Let's have it.

By the way wasn't it a certain king, who afterward became headless, who said "give them a whiff of grape shot"? And wasn't it admitted — with what success the French Revolution tells us!

APPLICATION FOR MEMBERSHIP in the COMMUNIST PROPAGANDA LEAGUE

Realizing the necessity of education and organization of the working-class in order that we may the sooner achieve our emancipation, and of the value of our propaganda for this purpose,

I hereby apply for membership in The Communist Propaganda League.

Enclosed find \$..... for which send me copies of The Ohio Socialist weekly for as many weeks as this sum pays for at the rate of 1c per copy.

NAME
 ADDRESS
 STATE
 CITY

JOIN—SEND A DOLLAR FOR TEN COPIES FOR TEN WEEKS—MORE IF YOU CAN—JOIN

Address: COMMUNIST PROPAGANDA LEAGUE

3207 Clark Ave., Cleveland, O.

Americanism!

— BY SKYGAC —

Lately without resistance.
 we have heard I
 SO MUCH DID NOT LIKE
 about a certain these conclusions
 something they call because they were
 AMERICANISM had learned in school
 that I decided I would about Patrick Henry
 LOOK AROUND and see and the
 if I could find out DECLARATION OF
 WHAT IT WAS ALL ABOUT. INDEPENDENCE
 I had read the WORDS and everything,
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 the peaceful parades of KILLED OFF the original
 STEEL WORKERS were owners of the land and
 stopped by the militia TOOK it for their own.
 with machine guns, tanks We had three kinds of
 AND AVERYTHING Foreigners here then,
 and the army was under The CRIMINAL
 the command of Gen. Wood who was deported here for
 who is also an American CRIME,
 and if he says that The ADVENTURER
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 a worker that is must be the sum total
 SERVILE ENOUGH TO ALLOW of the inherited
 the capitalists to characteristics
 HAVE THEIR OWN SWEET WAY of the parent stock.

The Coming of the Storm

By Robin Adair

Do you hear the workers toiling in the murky shaft of Fate!
 Heavens! listen to the thunder of the sound,
 Of a million whispered curses; a million thoughts of hate;
 A molten stream of anger — underground.
 Do you see the miner sweating, reeking naked to the loins,
 Oh, you pious bible-thumping Man of God?
 Do you see his widow weeping by his body, Man of Coin,
 And his starving children, homeless at your nod?
 If the game is worth the candle,
 'Tisn't you who turns the handle;
 'Tisn't you who mans the windless — Man of God.

Oh listen to the echo in the stokehole and the mine,
 Of a million anguished voices all a-wail;
 By the railroad and the quarry, or midst the bush and pine,
 I the stockyard and the foundry and the jail.
 Do you hear the spirits stirring in the graves of shattered hopes,
 Oh, you soulies, brass encrusted Man of Fat?
 Do you hear the clanging voices of the dead men in the stopes,
 And the whisper of the "blackleg" and the "rat"?
 Oh, its dividends and hampers,
 To the music of the campers;
 It is you Dame Fortune pampers — Man of Fat.

Do you hear the faint, far rustle in the tree tops on the peak?
 (How the murmur gathers volume as it nears)
 Do you hear it, Man of Mammon? You're the cursed thing they seek;
 'Tis your victims — and the tempest is their jeers.
 Oh, just hearken to the howling and the shrieking of the blast!
 Hear the trump of Resurrection, Man of Cash!
 For the one who once was tyrant, shall be Serf in fetters fast,
 And the broken slaves of years shall ply the lash.
 Oh, its greed and niggard wages,
 Makes the coming gale that rages.
 Down the ghastly path of ages — Man of Cash!

In Russia

THE THEATRE

Soviet Russia is working hard to popularize the theatre and a system of committees called the Proletkult has been formed to deal with this matter. Proletkult is a composite word, denoting, of course, proletarian culture — there is now a prolific manufacture in Russia of new composite words to serve new needs. The Proletkult organizes in all districts, schools where workers are educated in music, dancing, and the mimic arts. When these students are sufficiently trained they play in company with the old actors. There is a demand for theatrical artists which it is difficult to supply and no actors are unemployed.

The price of theatre tickets is low and the tickets are offered for sale first through the factories workshops, offices, wherever work is carried on. Only if any tickets are left after the work centres have been supplied are the tickets put up for general sale. Only then have the hostile bourgeoisie who refuse to work an opportunity to buy theatre tickets. As a rule the workers have bought up all the theatre tickets and only a few cinema tickets remain; indeed it is evident that presently it will only be possible to attend places of amusement if one is willing to work.

The theatres are becoming more and more popular; the cinemas less so. The general view in Russia is that the cinema should not be used for drama but for scientific purposes: for revealing the growth of plants, the depths of the sea, and so on.

The Soviets regard the theatre as a valuable means of social and artistic education: hence its popularity.

THE PHONOGRAPH AND PROPAGANDA

The phonograph is much used in propaganda. There is a widespread desire to hear Lenin speak; to hear Trotsky, Angelica Balabanoff, Zinoviev, Alexandra Kollontai.

Russia is an enormous country; the only way for the mass of people to hear speakers is by the phonograph, and request for the records of their speeches comes in a growing stream from all over Russia. The records are set going in barracks, parks, and open spaces. Our visitor recently heard a speech by Kollontai in one of the squares of Moscow.

LEARNING BY DOING

More than sixty millions of the Russian people are directly dependent upon the Russian Co-operative Unions. The Consumers Unions have twelve million members (heads of families). The credit societies have four million members. The producers and marketers, societies have four million members. Beginning with one co-operative society in 1865 Russia at latest reports can boast of some forty thousand co-operative societies of varying strength.

Russia is engaged in the greatest economic experiment of the age — an experiment aimed to demonstrate the capacity of the workers for self-government. As a background for this experiment the Russian workers have built up a system in which millions are engaged, as a part of their daily routine, in the processes of active co-operation which enables them to learn by doing.

DO PRISONS REFORM?

By H. L. Giles.

If you mean the "old-fashioned" kind, which still exists in many places, the answer is decidedly "No." A dungeon, close confinement of any sort; ignorant, unfeeling and cruel guards; compulsion and degradation of the meanest kind never reformed or regenerated anything. But there is no reason why the right type of penal institution should not benefit misguided persons who have come within its walls. Take Western Pennsylvania's own institution, in Center County, as an instance. Who could help but be benefitted by the healthful life on its farm, the work in the open air — close to nature and God—the effort to teach a helpful vocation, the humane treatment its prisoners are said to receive.

It is necessary that there be a place of confinement for unfortunate persons who become convicts. But at the same time it is true convicts are human beings, responsive to humane treatment. It is punishment enough to shut them off from the rest of humanity, without marking their lives a succession of horrors. Give them encouragement. Give them education. Give them healthful work and wholesome recreation that will lift their minds above the sordidness of their situation. Put capable, whole-hearted, healthy, unselfish men in charge of them men whose actions will be an inspiration for well-doing, rather than a model for baseness. A convict has become what he is because of some error in his training, some mistake in his environment. The vile environment of the oldtime penitentiary will not change him. But place about him influences that will show him the benefits of right living, the advantages of honesty, the worth of helpfulness to others, and he will come out "reformed."

A KING A QUEEN AND THE SCABS

A real live king and his queen have been touring these benighted states of late. It is not so long since we were being compelled to voluntarily contribute foodstuffs, cash and clothing for the benefit of the starving Belgians, and now before the peace treaty has been signed the Belgian King, Queen and Royal party take a trip to the land of sham democracy which will cost over a million dollars. The plute press recently carried the story of how the king and queen walked over the hot iron in the steel mills of Pittsburg, and how the queen climbed to an advantageous position in order to take a picture of the men handling a red-hot ingot. When she got that picture she got a picture of a bunch of scabs. It is but logical however for kings, queen and scabs to herd together.



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 Cleveland, Ohio.
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 Executive Secretary.

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John Reed, New York.
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SCOTT NEARING AT AKRON

Workers of Akron are in store for a treat on Nov. 11th when comrade Scott Nearing, writer and socialist will deliver a lecture at Eagle Hall Nov. 11th. Prof. Nearing is nationally known as one of the foremost educational lecturers in the country and any one attending this lecture is assured of a discourse of unusual value. A large audience is expected.
 Watch for advertising of the meeting.

Local's Monthly Report

Akron	9	923	257
Clark County		24	34
Clermont Co.		6	11
Columbus	1	96	143
ayton	6	130	239
Elmwood Place		10	10
Findlay	9	20	25
Galion	2	43	43
Hamilton	1	235	303
Irondale		13	13
Marysville		5	5
Massilon		40	67
New Bremen	1	29	35
Niles		45	90
Portsmouth	1	35	52
Power Point	12	24	27
Sandusky	3	39	42
Seneca Co.		53	72
Wardsworth		11	16
Warren Ukr. Br. 2		12	
Zanesville		19	34

The locals reporting are only a small percentage of the state locals. Might we again urge financial secretaries of locals to obey the state constitution and send in their local's report BEFORE the eighth of each month?

Attend Workers' University

1314 Vine Str. Cincinnati, O.
 Lectures Every Sunday

CALENDAR FOR NOVEMBER & DECEMBER 1919.

Novbr. 2nd. Tom Clifford of Cleveland, O.
 9th. Margaret Prevey of Akron, O.
 16th. Prof. Otto C. Markwardt of Detroit, Mich.
 23th. Tom Lewis of Portland Oregon.
 30th. Ross D. Brown (Colored) of Muncie Ind.
 Decbr. 7th. Jos. Sharts of Dayton, O.
 14th. Mrs. Gillman of New York
 21st. Geo. R. Kirkpatrick of New York.
 28th. Wm. A. Domingo (Colored) of New York.

COMING.

Wm. D. Haywood of Chicago, Alexander Berkman & Emma Goldman of New York, Scott Nearing of New York, Basanta Koomar Roy of India.

COMRADES:— We are under considerable expense in bringing speakers here for these meetings. Every comrade should therefore take a deep interest in the splendid lectures given and support this series liberally.

Every comrade and fellow-worker is urged to attend each lecture and bring others with them. Don't forget the dates and remember to bring others and help the movement along. Fill the hall to overflowing.

Declaration on Unity

of the National Executive Committee of the Communist Labor Party on the question of Unity with the Communist Party.

In view of the fact that the Central Executive Committee of the Communist Party has again refused to accept the Unity invitation extended by the Communist Labor Party on Oct. 13th we issue the following declaration to the membership of both parties.

1 We reaffirm our sincere desire for Communist Unity. We are sure that the invitations that we have extended to the Communist Party to meet with us in Unity Conference are in harmony with the will of the membership, not only of the Communist Labor Party, but of the Communist Party as well. The Communist Comrades in both organizations hope for unity of all true Communist elements in ONE Party.

2 We regret the seeming inability of the officialdom of the Communist Party to sense this desire of their own membership, and we express our firm conviction that in time this membership will enforce its will. The Communist officials that now prevent Unity will be compelled to clear the way, or all real Communist elements will leave the Communist Party just as they left the old Socialist Party when that Party's officialdom refused to obey the mandates of its revolutionary membership.

3 The excuse of the Communist Party officials that they have no power to act in this matter is palpably untrue. The Communist Party's constitution gives their Executive Committee full power to initiate referendums. If they really desired unity and believed that a referendum offered the only means, they could immediately submit the question to referendum and let their membership decide it.

4 In making our unity offer we did not thereby approve of all the elements in the Communist Party. We are not surprised to find unclear and undesirable elements in that Party, opposed to Communist Unity.

Elements that are engaged in dickerings with reactionary Socialist Party Locals in an attempt to wrest property from the Communist Labor Party, as the National Executive Secretary of the Communist Party is now doing in Ohio, can not be expected to help bring about unity of all real Communist forces.

Groups of so-called Communists that appeal to the capitalist courts to rob Communist Labor Party Branches of Party property, as some of them are now doing in New York, are surely not desirable elements with whom to unite on an equal basis of Communist Comradeship.

Neither can we place the laurels of 100% Communism upon the brows of those that are rallying the proletarian hosts to the polls for the support of bourgeois wets in the defense of "personal liberty" against the onslaughts of bourgeois drags, as is being done right now by members of the Communist Party and one of their official organs in Cleveland.

5 In spite of the fact that we see these and many other signs of centrism and menshevism in the Communist Party our invitation for a unity conference on a basis of equality still stands. We know that the great mass of the rank and file of the Communist Party is sound and revolutionary. We have absolute faith that if unity is achieved on a PROPER basis, so that the membership has an opportunity to assert itself, these unclear elements will eliminate themselves and a Party of true proletarian Communism will result.

6 The letter of the Communist Party dated Oct. 25th answering our unity invitation contains no proper basis for unity. It contains no unity basis at all. In this they merely ask the officials of the Communist Labor Party to betray their membership. They refuse to consider even a meeting for the purpose of attempting to work out a basis for a unity conference. To call that an offer of unity is rank hypocrisy. We spurn their bribes in the shape of an offer to liquidate our debts.

7 There is a fundamental difference between the two Parties that must be considered before the membership before unity could be achieved. This difference is in the form of organization. The Communist Party is a loosely federated group of almost independent parties. Because of this very structure of organization their officials have power to break them a part. Where "leaders" have this power, they will inevitably enter into conspiracies and combinations to maintain their control. This must eventually destroy the Party, just as it almost wrecked the Left Wing movement last summer. It was one of these very cliques that bolted the Left Wing Conference in New York, split the revolutionary movement in two, sent out the call for its separate convention and organized the Third Party, the self-styled Communist Party.

8 It would be futile folly for any one to join the Communist Party with the idea of correcting these fatal errors and ousting this organized clique from control either at the next convention or at any other time. They openly boast that should they lose control they would again bolt, cause another split and organize another new Party. "Boring from within" can therefore not bring unity. It is impossible to achieve a lasting unity of Communist forces unless this clique control is corrected at the very start.

9 It is apparent that the officialdom of the Communist Party is determined to maintain its clique control at all costs, even at the price of another split in their own Party. Upon them rests the heavy responsibility of bringing forth a third Party, since they are the ones that split away from the Left Wing organization and started the third organization and the third Party. They are the ones that refused all unity offers before and during the conventions. They are the ones that refuse every unity offer today. We therefore urge upon the membership of the Communist Party as their only recourse that they withhold from their officialdom all support, financial or otherwise, to compel them to change their attitude and agree to unity.

11 We urge upon the Communist Party membership not to permit the unfortunate and biased attitude of their "leaders" to cause them to relax their efforts in Communist propaganda. We invite all branches, Locals, Federation and State organizations of the Communist Party that may be in accord with the platform program and constitution of the Communist Labor Party to join our Party and co-operate with us in our activities to spread the message of Communism among the proletarian masses.

12 The Communist Labor Party stands squarely upon the principles of Communism outlined by the Third International with which we have affiliated.

The tactics of the Communist Labor Party are determined by the revolutionary needs of the class war in America.

Its form of organization meets the revolutionary situation, since it gives the full possibility to organize all Communist elements in this country into one strongly centralized Party.

Its Party machinery is now well established. It is in direct contact with the revolutionary workers right in the shops. It has taken over the "Voice of Labor" for shop propaganda and organization and the "Class Struggle" for the scientific education of the membership. It has established other national periodicals to supply every need of a great working-class movement. It is already engaged in the publication of numerous timely leaflets, pamphlets and books.

We call upon all class conscious workers, especially upon those now in the Communist Party, to join the Communist Labor Party and work with us to reach America's thirty million wage workers with the message of Communism, to rally them for the struggle against American and World Capitalism, — to abolish the Dictatorship of the Capitalist class and to clasp hands across the seas with our Bolshevik and Spartacan Comrades to establish the Dictatorship of the World's Proletariat.

Communist Labor Party
National Executive Committee,
A. Bilan, Max Belacht,
Jack Carney, L. E. Katterfeld,
Ed. Lindgren,
A. Wagenknecht, Ex. Secr.

What's the Matter with America?

John Reed.

Comparatively untouched by the War, her man-power almost intact, her immense resources scarcely scratched, the United States began the year 1919 as one of the most reactionary nations on earth. Never had we felt the strain of imminent invasion, as the people of Europe had felt it; never had we starved, or frozen, or dragged our mangled men from their families, as in other belligerent countries. Labor here was getting war-wages, "radicalism" of all sorts — the Socialists, the I. W. W.'s, even the Non-Partisan Leaguers — had been privately and publicly mobbed into comparative silence; the vast bulk of the population, and especially of the workers, seemed satisfied and patriotic. To all appearances the bulk of the people were behind President Wilson and his much-heralded League of Nations. Samuel Gompers had become a statesman of international importance, wielding the massed power of the American Federation of Labor which seemed as solid and eternal as the Rock of Ages.

THE GREAT CHANGE

Now, nine months later, what do we see?

Woodrow Wilson a failure, a proven hypocrite and liar, deserted by the Liberals, viciously assaulted by the reactionaries. Gompers absolutely discredited abroad, and coming more and more into open conflict with the rank and file of his own organization. The Labor movement of America stirring, awakening to new ideas, new forms of organization, new methods of industrial warfare, revolting against its leaders — becoming revolutionary!

Those frightened authorities who see in all this stirring and upheaval the work of "Bolshevik propaganda," are on the wrong track. Certainly events in Europe have had their repercussion here; it is impossible for the workers of Russia to take over control of their country or the workers of England to threaten Direct Action for political ends, without making American workers think.

But no revolutionary movement was ever yet caused by propaganda alone. Conditions make Revolutions. Conditions have caused, and are causing, the tremendous change in the attitude of the American Labor movement.

How It Happened

The war speeded up industrial evolution tremendously, even here. Under

emergency agreements with the A. F. of L. Union rules and safeguards were suspended, the skilled trades were diluted. Labor was still further subdivided: The War Labor Board contributed to the change by permitting the workers to air their grievances, and then demonstrating its inability to combat the great capitalist employers. The various Liberty Bond, Red Cross and Y. M. C. A. drives, in which the workers were forced to subscribe or lose their jobs; the suppression of all class-activities of the workers by anti-Labor, strike-breaking organizations of employers such as the National Security League, the American Protective League, the American Defense Society; the lynch-law employed by chambers of Commerce and Boards of Trade — all these fed the smoldering resentment of the workers.

This burst into flame when the signing of the Armistice suddenly shattered the artificial social and economic conditions which had prevailed in the nations organized for war. With the Governmental pressure removed, the workers found themselves face to face with a brutal capitalist class, whose first instinct was to contract industry. In the ship-yards, the steel mills, the mines, thousands of men were laid off. The restlessness of the workers was met by "anti-vagrancy" laws, such as that of Kansas, which forces an unemployed worker to take a job at any wages; by "criminal syndicalist" laws, which struck directly at all effective forms of labor organization.

The Prohibitive Cost of Living

The end of the War didn't put an end to the high prices of living necessities. On the contrary, with artificial government control released, an orgy of profiteering set in. This was visible among other things, to the clearly visible bankruptcy of Europe, which prevented the export of surplus products to the exposed of in foreign markets, and also to the uncertainty of foreign investments in "backward countries" — about whose disposition the Peace Conference was squabbling, and in certain sections of which the Social Revolution was threatening or in full swing. The plethora of gold which the banks of this country were hoarding also had a tendency to raise prices, because of the cheapness of money.

These two counter-tendencies — the rapid rise in the cost of living, and

the attempt of manufacturers to "transform industry to a peace basis" — in other words, to reduce wages to what they were before the war — quickly produced a crisis. The workers, who had already discovered that even war-wages wouldn't buy as much for the dollar as wages before the war, were faced with actual want. Moreover, the sudden cancellation of war-contracts, leading to the discharging of thousands of workers, gave the remainder the bitter choice between staying at work on insufficient wages, or walking the streets.

The issue was sharply precipitated by the ultimatum of the Railroad Brotherhoods, asking for vast wage increases or the adoption of the Plumb Plan, and threatening a general railroad strike.

The Government Gets Busy

This sudden revelation of the power which might be employed if the workers really made up their minds to it, shocked and frightened the Government. Immediately the President and Congress got busy with all sorts of schemes to reduce prices. Laws were proposed to punish profiteers, investigations started, retailers by the dozen arrested for hoarding food and clothing stocks, the Army supplies were ordered sold through the public schools and the Post Office.

But even in its panic, the capitalist class did not intend to relinquish a penny of its profits. It served notice on the Government that it would sooner see industry go to smash than to surrender an atom of its power.

This put the politicians in a difficult position. The Government had to obey its capitalist masters; so Wilson refused the Railroad men's demands, and issued a statement denouncing strikes. But the Administration was fearful of losing the workers' votes; it had to pretend to be doing something. Therefore the invitation to the Capital-Labor Conference in Washington on October 6th; hence the appeals for an "industrial truce"....

Labor Betrayed By Its Leaders

The workers, however, who are too close to the facts of life to be fooled by such propositions, and whose actual need is driving them to immediate action, will not wait. They must strike

to live. They must strike to maintain and strengthen their organizations and alter them to meet new conditions. Under no industrial truce will the capitalists cease to make class war on the working class.

The interests of the Craft Union leadership, however, are different from the workers' interests. The A. F. of L. oligarchy is interested in keeping Craft Unionism intact, in making Organized Labor a power with which to dicker for a share of the capitalists' profits. This power — the workers of this country — they are willing to sell to the capitalist class for any political game or imperialist scheme, in return for "a fair wage."

It is for this that the A. F. of L. leadership surrendered the Organized Labor movement to the War Party in 1917. It is for this that the "leaders" of the Trade Union movement in America have always been the bitterest of Socialism. It is for this, finally that Gompers and his clique have joined with the Government in its efforts to sabotage the Plumb Plan, to halt strikes, to collaborate in the Conference of October 6th.

The Workers Can't Wait

But the workers, as we have said above, cannot wait. They must get relief. They strike. The leaders forbid. They strike anyway — they must strike. And this struggle between the masses forced to move forward, and the "leaders" who want to hold them back, reveals to the workers the reactionary character of the whole Craft Union structure, and its function as a buttress of the capitalists' system.

This leads to the smash-up of the old rigid Labor Movement in this country, and the inevitable conception of a new organization based upon actual necessities and needs, and so organized as to be able effectively to cope with the gigantic new growth of capitalist power — One Big Union!

The Seattle and Winnipeg strikes, and the abortive Boston strike — all bitterly condemned by the A. F. of L. leaders; the great Steel strike, tying up an entire basic industry, from the mines to the finished product — which the A. F. of L. politicians have also tried to stop; these are the first tentative tests of the new form of organization.

So Revolutions begin — so the Revolution is rapidly approaching here in the United States.

Social Revolution Impending in Poverty-Stricken Italy

The Council of the Chamber of Labor in Rome, passed a resolution in opposition to the formation of a militarist-imperialist government in Italy, which says:

"The proletariat will descend into the streets, build barricades and sacrifice their lives rather than fall into the rapacious claws of a military imperialism."

To the outside world it may seem as though all Italy is fervently Nationalist. In the Nationalist ranks are allied the so-called "best people," the business men and nobility, and the Nationalist cause is supported by the capitalist press, the "leading" papers. But there is another party, less noisy but more numerous, less apparent in action but the most powerful, the Communist of Italy. What D'Annunzio has done they, too, can do, and the breach he made in Italian military discipline can be broadened by them to the breaking point.

At present Italy is on the brink of social revolution, and the almost unprecedented expedient of calling the leaders of every party to a Crown Council was an eleventh hour attempt to find a course of action that would stem the tide of revolt. The greatest significance of D'Annunzio's coup lies not in disobedience to the Supreme Council — though that would be serious enough — but in the proof thus given of the weakness of the bonds of discipline in the Italian Army.

D'Annunzio's act precipitated a crisis that had been latent in Italy since the early Spring. Even before the war Italian finances were in bad shape and her industries shaky. Today the country is virtually bankrupt and the Government is resorting to the desperate measure of a levy on capital — an enforced loan — as the sole chance of staying off ruin. To the lack of money must be added the lack of wheat, meat and coal.

The capitalist government of the world know that D'Annunzio is "rocking the boat" in dangerous waters, they know that he is brandishing a torch in the powder magazine of Italian proletarian revolutionary activities. An explosion is bound to follow. This is the reason why the Supreme Council in Paris does not dare to interfere

and agree to leave the matter to the Government immediately concerned, because any interference by outsiders might start the conflagration of revolution which could only end by the workers of Italy organizing a Soviet form of government and demand all power to the workers like their brothers in Russia.

The immediate question that concerns the ruling class in Italy is not how to get D'Annunzio out of Fiume, or whether the city should be annexed or abandoned, but an agonized search for a path of safety in the storm that is about to break. As matters stand today the working class of Italy see very plainly that the ruling class is committed to a policy of imperialism, that neither puts fire in their stoves nor bread on their tables.

D'Annunzio has stamped the government along imperialist lines. For the sake of glory he has jeopardized the already scanty food supply. He has raised the flag of rebellion, in the interest of the imperialists, and has got away with it. The workers are asking, "Is the future to be nothing but semistarvation, unbearable taxes, and militarism with its death and suffering for the many and honor and glory for the few?"

The Communists, too, have devoted adherents. They, too, can take the power into their own hands, establish their own government and destroy the present imperialist state.

They may not be ready to strike yet. They may prefer to wait until the first pinch of cold and hunger has ripened the masses for revolt. But it is now that the decisions of the communists are being made, and the seeds of their action sown.

Premier Nitti and his associates on the Crown Council know it, as do the Capitalist-imperialist governments of the world, and it is that knowledge that is causing them so much anxiety, for they know that with Italy in the hands of her proletariat, all the Balkans would raise the relief banner of Communism and march to the relief of their embattled brothers in Russia. Speed the day.

THE WORKER

Men and women; little children; families; neighborhoods; whole communities are engaged in a life and death struggle to secure the necessities of life. Above the struggle are the privileged ones whose property and special advantages free them from the jungle of "civilization." A recent announcement of the New York Federal Reserve Bank tells the story of the ease with which these fortunate ones secure their lion's share of the good things of life.

Commenting on this announcement, the "New York Times" says: "The business of the bank, as reflected in its earnings, has been phenomenal in the last year. So great were the earnings for the calendar year 1918 that at the beginning of the current year the management put \$7,672,876 into surplus account. On March 7, after the Federal Reserve Act had been amended to allow greater surplus holdings, the bank ex-

The Sin of Silence

To sin by silence when we should protest

Makes cowards out of men. The human race

Has climbed on protest. Had no voice been raised

Against injustice, ignorance and lust, The Inquisition yet would serve the law,

And guillotine decide our last disputes, The few who dare must speak and speak again,

To right the wrongs of many.

Ella Wheeler Wilcox.

SYNDICALISM CASES CONTINUED

(Continued from page 1.)

"proletariat" and "sabotage" proved unmountable barriers for this genius who reminded us of another prosecutor we have in mind who was characterized as "having the manners of a coyote and the face of a thief." Knowledge of ordinary English words and their correct relation one with another is apparently not required in the legal profession if the example submitted by prosecutor Stanton be taken as evidence. In fact one may conclude that ordinary knowledge of grammar is held in about the same esteem in a capitalist court as are the fundamentals of our Constitution, relating to free speech, and free assemblage.

Scott Nearing's Lecturettes

Mexico, like several of the countries of Europe, has had a revolution. Consequently, there is a widespread effort, on the part of those who are not enthusiastic about a revolution in the United States, to make it appear that the Mexicans have suffered terribly as a result of the disturbance of Diaz-Huerta law and order. Recent reports from Mexico put a very different fact on the matter.

The foreign commerce of Mexico has never been as great as it was during the calendar year 1918 — and this despite the persistent efforts of certain interests to make it appear that Mexico was in no position to do business with anybody.

The real situation is best reflected in the reports of certain corporations, financed by outside capital, and utilizing the resources of Mexico as a source of profit. The Agula Company (English) had an original investment of about \$30,000,000 American gold. On this investment, in 1918 the company reported net profits of over fourteen millions and paid a dividend of 25 per cent. on its stock. The Dutch Shell Company paid a dividend in the same year of 48 per cent. on the preferred stock and 37 per cent. on the common. The Pan-American Petroleum & Transport Company is reported as paying dividends of 28 per cent. a quarter. So the story goes.

Poor Mexico? Hardly. If she were as poor as we are led to believe, there is little chance that Lord Cowdry and the Rockefeller interests, and the French, Dutch, Belgian and Norwegian capitalists would take the interest in her that they do.

Quite the contrary, it is a case of Rich Mexico. Her ample resources, her cheap labor, her heretofore pliant governments have offered opportunities for plunder that have drawn the vultures together.

If the Mexican people were poor, they would be left as lonely as are many other poor ones in the world. Rich and defenseless they are the prey of every spoiler. The revolution gives an opening. Disturbances afford an opportunity, and the inter-ventanists cry their wares to the four corners of the globe.

Mexico — rich in resources and commercial opportunities.

Mexico — poor in self-determination and international liberty!

Above the Struggle

The process of transforming free, individual holdings into great estates has always been accompanied by slavery, serfdom, or a system of tenantry and absolute landlordism that possessed most of the economically vicious characteristics of feudalism, minus the element of personal relationship that accompanied the feudal system.

History does not teach that all forces are economic forces, nor does it teach that all changes have been economic changes. It does teach, however, that the economic forces are so mighty and the economic changes so potent that they will both bear constant attention.

No explanation of social development or of social progress is complete without the economic element. Where economic lines are drawn, other lines follow of necessity. This has proved particularly true in the case of the economic control of the common means of livelihood. Wherever such a control is established, the dominant class is placed in a specially favored position that gives it a vested interest in maintaining the system that grows out of its control. At the same time the dependent class finds a great gulf fixed between it and economic opportunity. Hence the conflict which inevitably arises between the workers and the owners.

panded this by \$12,795,214, and on June 30, \$10,126,437 was added to surplus. In consequence, that account, which stood at \$649,363 at the end of 1918, now stands at \$32,922,051."

Here is a story of bank surplus increasing from a little over half a million to more than 32 millions in less than a year. Meantime the necessary expenses of the bank have been paid; the business has been enlarged, and those connected with the finance of the institution have been properly taken care of.

Below, in the struggle, it is hell. Above, among the bankers, it is paradise, financially speaking.

Class Lines

The beneficiaries of a system are, naturally enough, inclined to favor the system that benefits them. Tolstoi remarks, truly, that the rich are willing to do anything for the poor except get off their backs. The poor suffer under the same system from which the rich benefit. The poor work; the rich live comfortably, in many cases, without doing any work at all. The rich enjoy this comfort, and teach their children to value it, and to look forward to it. Why should they be anxious to dispossess themselves of opportunities which give them the things they most value in life?

The economic abyss that separates the various groups in the United States has existed in all of the great civilizations of the past. Recent discoveries in Egypt and in Babylonia show that there, as well as in Greece and Rome, there was a well-established system of social organization which turned the first fruits over to the property owners. The bitter internal conflicts that tore the vitals out of classic civilization were the conflicts over land ownership and the concentration of wealth in the hands of the minority.

The basis of power in Europe during the past thousand years has been land ownership. Until the rise of commerce and industry, the sole economic basis of power lay in the control of the agricultural land.

Most of the great nations began their existence under a relatively free economic system. The land was held in common, or else it was held in small parcels by the individuals who used it. Then, little by little, the individual owners were dispossessed and the common land was taken over by the wealthy and powerful. The economic history of Rome and of Great Britain relates, in terms of remarkable similarity, the appropriation of common lands and small holdings by the great proprietors.

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The antagonism and conflict that are based on these economic contrasts helped to wreck every great civilization of the past and the chances are that they will have the same effect upon the great civilizations of the present and future. Society cannot persist unless the forces that tend to hold it together are greater than the forces that tend to drive it apart.

The most vicious basis of social distinction lies in differing methods of livelihood. Where these methods take the form of working on the one hand and owning on the other, the lines are laid for embittered economic struggle and for the ultimate destruction of the society that tolerates them.

STIRRUP HOLDERS

Robert Whitaker

There are many who do not admit this, and to whom our present attitude is quite incomprehensible. Our contention seems to them in the first place quite "unspiritual." It is "peace and good will, and brotherly love" that the world needs, not the "class struggle." And with all our talk of "human values first," it seems to them very inconsistent on our part that now we are putting "labor values first."

And to us their misunderstanding, and their failure to cooperate with the industrial revolution seems to be but another sad chapter in the failure of the common people in all ages to understand their own interests, and to support their pioneers.

When I saw Thomas Dixon's famous photo-play, "The Birth of a Nation," the one picture that remained with me was a quite incidental part of the play. It was not his glorification of war, intentional or unintentional, nor his evidently evil purposed vilification of the negro in the mad pursuit of the helpless girl by a black brute. Rather was it the home scene where the young bucks of the south are shown riding off to war while their smiling and scraping negro servants hold the stirrups of the horses which their masters are mounting. The negroes held the stirrups for their masters to mount and ride away to make the negroes' bondage more secure.